1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathīris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathīris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathīris.

Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathīri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathīri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathīris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

645 of a Municipal Council composed of merchants and notabilities being formed in Mukalla, but it did not seem likely that it would eventuate.

636 The Sultanate is divided into five *liwas* or provinces: Shihr, the oldest, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. Each of these provinces is ruled on behalf of the Sultan by a salaried Governor or *Muqaddam*, who has at least one paid clerk. He has direct control over the Qu'aiti towns in his province, and in important ones which are not autonomous there is a sub-Governor responsible to the Governor of the province. Subject to the general orders of His Highness the *Muqaddam* has power to settle any case in the province, but there is an appeal to the *Wazir* and Governor of Mukalla. From the judgments and decisions of the *Wazir* appeal lies to His Highness.

631 There are a number of autonomous towns throughout the Hadhra-
632 maut governed by particular tribes or families, and the Central
635 Government does not interfere in their internal affairs. Relations
642 with the tribes over the country are conducted principally through the Governors on whose towns they economically depend. The Sultan has the two following types of agreements with the various tribes: A. Engagements containing an undertaking to respond to the call of the Sultan in any matter and at any time, and B. Engagements of *bon voisinage* and friendship containing an undertaking to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. These agreements are all written.

The following tribes have A. agreements: Tamimi, Manahil, Ath Tha'yani, Awābitha, Seibani, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadiyin, Sumūh, Al Bab Sura, Hālka, Nūwah, Mahfudh, Makhashin, the Hadhrami Yafa'is, Hāmdi, Beni Daghār, and Buheish.

The following tribes have B. agreements: Hamumi, Qarzi, Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Ma'āra, Jōhi, 'Awāmir, Ash Shenafir al Kathīr, Mahra, Nahd Rodhān, Sei'ar, Ad Deiyin, Ja'da, Baheith, Namāra Beni Hilāl, 'Awāleq, Hājib Beni Sa'd, Bahanaf, Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Senad al Murqashi, Ba Habāb, Meseiliyin, 'Asārina, Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Beni 'Utheiman, Bā Babekr and Āl Zaghīb, tribesmen of Sadf, Al 'Amūdi, Ash Shof, Beduins of Shāūla, Āl Beihan al 'Awāmir, Al Khashia al Murqashi, Deiyeb, Qumeish, and Bā Bekr.

● 641 When there is any doubt as to the loyalty of a particular tribe,
431 hostages have to be provided who are kept in Mukalla prison, at
642 Du'an, and sometimes at Shihr. Hostages may be changed every month. Presents are given and subsidies paid to some of the tribes, and on the visits of tribal *'Aqils* to provincial headquarters they are given presents, and in some cases entertained.

642 The Qu'aiti administration makes no attempt to interfere with
632 tribal usages, but tribal usage does not run in the Qu'aiti towns and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (nadjdjār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥašwān of the Āl Bā Ḥašwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian tašt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥakk al-salīṭ, ḥakk al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. Andree, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers*, *Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeʿēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.* Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . āl"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey